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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State  
BUREAU OF STATE A/CORR

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DATE 2/19/87

EXCISE

A7-48  
Action

EUR  
Info

FROM: LONDON

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

E(6)(1) 1.36(35)

ACTION DEPARTMENT 1465, INFORMATION BONN 92, MOSCOW 64, PARIS 263, BERLIN 48.

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CURRENT POPULAR M... TO BE BERLIN AS REFLECTED IN PRESS AND CONVER-  
SATIONS PRESENTLY ONE OF RELIEF US IS ENGAGED IN EXPLORATIONS WIT  
SOVIETS, VIEW IS WIDELY HELD WAR CAN BE AVOIDED BECAUSE OF FACTO  
RECOGNITION EAST MANY IS PRICE WHICH USSR WOULD ACCEPT FOR  
BERLIN SETTLEMENT THIS WEST CAN AND SHOULD PAY. THIS VIEW  
ALREADY EXPRESSED IN RESOLUTIONS AT LIBERAL AND LABOR PARTY  
CONFERENCES AND LIKELY ALSO TO APPEAR AT THIS WEEK'S CONSERVATIVE  
PARTY CONFERENCE.

INFORMED OPINION GENERALLY DISAPPOINTED BY CONDUCT GERMANS SINCE  
SEPT 17 ELECTIONS. PROLONGED POLITICAL HAGGLING AT TIME OF NATIONAL  
CRISIS CONSIDERED SIGN OF POLITICAL IMMATURITY. GERMAN STATESMEN  
THOUGHT TO BE IRRESPONSIBLE BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT FACING UP TO  
FACTS OF LIFE AND PREPARING GERMAN PEOPLE FOR SACRIFICES AND  
DISAPPOINTMENTS WHICH THEY MUST ACCEPT.

MACMILLAN REPORTEDLY SHARES THIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND FEARS THAT IN  
ABSENCE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED SENSE RESPONSIBILITY AMONG GERMAN  
LEADERS, UK AND US, PARTICULARLY LATTER, MAY BEAR BRUNT OF RESULTS  
OF ALLIED POLICY. IF THEY CONTINUE TO CREATE IMPRESSION CHANGES  
IN ALLIED POLICY BERLIN-GERMANY FORCED ON THEM BY US-UK GENUINE  
RISK EXISTS GERMAN PUBLIC IN TEN YEARS OR SO WOULD READILY RESPOND

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-2- 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM LONDON  
TO DEMAGOGIC APPEALS AS TO POST-WORLD I PERIOD.

MANY CONSIDERED SERIES OF PRESS STORIES AND SPECULATIONS ABOUT  
SHIFT IN US POLICY IN DIRECTION OF TAKING ACCOUNT OF EXISTENCE  
GDR AS USEFUL IN MAKING GERMANS TAKE THEIR HEADS OUT OF THE SAND.  
SOME COMMENTATORS HAVE SUGGESTED LEAKS WERE DELIBERATELY USED FOR  
THIS PURPOSE. SOME INTERPRETED GENERAL CLAY'S REMARKS IN THIS  
LIGHT. IN GENERAL THEY APPROVED OF POLICY WHICH THEY ATTRIBUTED  
TO US GOVT.

CONCERN LEFT WEST PAY A PRICE FOR BERLIN SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL  
ALIENATE WEST GERMANY AND DESTROY NATO AND COMMON MARKET NOT  
WIDESPREAD. BUT SUCH WORRY EXISTS IN WELL-INFORMED CIRCLES AND  
WORKING LEVEL FOREIGN OFFICE. RECENT HAFNER ARTICLE IN ENCOUNTER  
WARNING FAILURE WEST TO HONOR ITS TREATY COMMITMENTS ARTICLE 7  
BONN CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS ACCOMPANYING 1954 REVISION  
BRUSSELS TREATY WOULD MAKE FEDREP BEHAVE LIKE CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
AFTER MUNICH ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION. TIMES AND  
ECONOMIST BOTH REFERRED TO IT AND POINTED TO THIS FACTOR AS  
IMPORTANT LIMITATION IN WEST NEGOTIATING LATITUDE. THIS VIEW  
CLEARLY PLAYS IMPORTANT PART IN FONOFF THINKING.

OPENING OF UK-EEC NEGOTIATIONS INTENSIFIED FONOFF ATTENTION TO  
FEDREP FEELINGS. PREVIOUSLY UK HAD LOOKED ON FEDREP AS MOST  
USEFUL ALLY IN MODERATING UNREASONABLE DEMANDS FRANCE LIKELY  
TO MAKE DURING NEGOTIATIONS. FULLY REALIZE HOW DAMAGING TO CONDUCT  
OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IT WOULD BE IF GERMANS FELT UK HAD SOLD  
THEM DOWN RIVER ON BERLIN.

ACCORDINGLY ONE SENSES RELIEF HERE THAT US IS TAKING LEAD IN  
TRYING TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT LIVE WITH EAST  
GERMANS WITHOUT LOSING OUR SHIRTS. BRITISH HAVE DELIBERATELY LAID  
LOW, AS IN WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS CONF IN PARIS AND WASHINGTON,  
AND HAVE REJOICED AT REPORTS US SUGGESTING IDEAS IN WHICH UK  
OFFICIALS BELIEVED AND WHICH THEY HAD BEEN LONG TRYING TO PUT  
ACROSS. IN THIS CASE IT HAS BEEN US AND NOT UK WHICH HAS CARRIED  
BRUNT OF GERMAN SUSPICION. BRITISH WOULD ARGUE THAT IF SUCH A  
POLICY IS TO BE PURSUED IT MUST BE US WHICH SETS PACE AND THEY

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-3- 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM LONDON

HAVE NOT SHOWN ANY INCLINATION TO OBJECT TO BILATERAL DIS-  
CUSSIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR ON BERLIN. HOWEVER, UK ALSO  
KEEPING OPEN ITS BILATERAL CHANNELS TO USSR, E.G., HOME-  
GROMYKO TALKS.

~~BRUCE~~

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Action

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Control: 5922  
Rec'd: OCT. 21, 1961  
1:45 PM

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FROM: LONDON

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1465, OCTOBER 10, 2 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

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PRESENT US CONDUCT HAS PROBABLY REASSURED BRITISH OPINION. IT IS LIKELY TO BE MORE ALARMED THAN IN SUMMER MONTHS IF EXPLORATIONS IN WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND POSSIBLE FOUR POWER NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. RECENT PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY SHOWED BRITISH SUPPORT FOR FIGHTING OVER BERLIN DROPPED FROM 46 PERCENT IN EARLY JUNE TO 24 PERCENT IN MID-SEPTEMBER. THIS POSSIBLY DUE TO INCREASING EMPHASIS GIVEN IN BRITISH OFFICIAL STATEMENTS TO BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR 2 1/4 MILLION BERLINERS AND DECREASING EMPHASIS ON PICTURE OF BERLIN AS LATTER-DAY MUNICH. ANNOUNCEMENT OF SOVIET TESTING WITH KHRUSHCHEV BOAST OF 100 MEGATON BOMB PROBABLY A MAJOR INFLUENCE IN CHANGING OPINION POLL FINDINGS, AS BRITISH ESPECIALLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO THREATS OF NUCLEAR DEVASTATION. MOST CONVINCED UK WOULD BE COMPLETELY DESTROYED. FOR EXAMPLE, BRITISH HAVE NO PLANS TO BUILD SHELTERS. OFFICIAL IN CHARGE PROGRAM HOME OFFICE SAID NO PRESSURE EXISTS FOR SUCH PROGRAM (THOUGH THIS MAY CHANGE) AND GOVT HAS NO INTENTION TO SPEND ANY MONEY ON IT. DEFENSE MINISTER WATKINSON LAST WEEK SAID PUBLICLY SHELTERS WERE USELESS. ALSO, BRITISH RELUCTANCE NATURALLY INCREASES AS CRISIS LOOMS NEARER.

SUDDEN INTENSIFICATION OF CRISIS WOULD ALARM BRITISH PUBLIC  
OPINION

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OPINION. ALTHOUGH LORD HOME SEEMS FIRMLY ATTACHED TO PRESENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS US GOVT AS INDICATED BY BRITISH SUGGESTIONS IN WORKING GROUP REPORTED DEPTEL 1851 TO LONDON, PRESSURE WOULD CERTAINLY MOUNT FOR GREATER CONCESSIONS. THE MORE CLEARLY CRISIS PRECIPITATES ITSELF AROUND ISSUE OF LARGE SCALE INTERFERENCE WITH WEST BERLIN ACCESS THE EASIER IT WOULD BE FOR GOVT TO PUT THROUGH COUNTERMEASURES PROGRAM AND PROGRAM SPELLED OUT IN DEPT'S BERLIN MEMORANDUM.

ALTHOUGH THEY ARE WILLING TO TAKE MEASURES NOT INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT INCREASE OF BUDGET, THEY ARE NOT CONVINCED IT IS NECESSARY TO UPSET PRESENT FAVORABLE TREND IN BRITISH ECONOMY AND HOPE WEST CAN REACH A SOLUTION WITHOUT PAINFUL SACRIFICE. ALTHOUGH NEED TO REINTRODUCE CONSCRIPTION IS BEING DISCUSSED, WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATION CABINET HAS INITIATED ANY STEPS TO PREPARE FOR SUCH A MOVE. L

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PRESENT SITUATION HERE RE BERLIN CAN THUS BE SUMMED UP AS FOLLOWS: UK PREPARED TO LET US TAKE LEAD IN BERLIN CRISIS AND IS WELL SATISFIED MOMENTARILY WITH US CONDUCT. ALTHOUGH BOTH GOVT AND LABOR LEADERS HOPE TO AVOID MAJOR SACRIFICES, THEY FULLY AWARE OF IMPLICATIONS BERLIN FOR UK SECURITY INTERESTS AND TREATY OBLIGATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE; GAITSKELL AND HEALEY DURING BLACKPOOL CONF SAID THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS JOINED, WEST PRESENTS REASONABLE PROPOSALS BUT USSR PROVES RECALCITRANT AND UNREASONABLE (PARTICULARLY IF USSR USES MILITARY FORCE) THEN UK MUST STAND BY ITS COMMITMENTS INCLUDING USE OF MILITARY FORCE AS REQUIRED.

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